14: Tamai--94 J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
576, 609, 648 Chin-hoan

On the other side of the river 13 chieftains from the Mareisha villages came forward; the Chinese trader came over to them and asked them to cross the river and meet the Japanese. [MC: members of a reconnaissance expedition] They refused at first, saying "We do not know the Japanese and do not know whether they are traitors like the Chinese or honest men. But so that they may not attack us unawares we have brought along a hundred armed men who are lying in ambush. If the Japanese agree to come to us unarmed we shall be glad to negotiate with them, for we have a favor to ask of them." The Japanese agreed to this and as they came across the river they were greeted in the way that is customary on this island, by the "swinging of the swords"; the chief went around with his sword drawn and cut off the points of the blades of grass.

22: Wiedfeldt--28 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 619, 692, 648 Atayal

The person who is the political representative and the military leader also has sufficient prestige to handle legal business. If it is a question of matters which concern individuals of the same clan, the clan chief is capable of dealing with them, but if members of different clans are involved, the tribal chief handles them. There is no difference between them, except the one that has just been mentioned, as to the type of matters that they handle. The procedure is the same also. If members of different tribes are involved, there is no legal procedure, if this expression is permissible, for there is no institution in their society which is superior to the tribe, and which could decide which one was right. The matter either is left unsettled, or force of arms determines who is in the right.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 609, 648, 721 Atayal

Just as the struggles with the Japanese have had the effect of producing greater solidarity within the tribes, so in recent years, under the same sort of pressure, there have arisen temporary alliances of several tribes, but never of a majority of tribes, for the purpose of a joint military expedition. In spite of the enthusiastic support given these joint expeditions by many of the tribal chiefs, the Atayals have no confidence in these products of extreme necessity. My question as to whether tribes of different savage peoples had ever united for the purpose of a joint military venture, aroused only laughter and amazed headshakings among the Atayals present.

22: Wiedfeldt--46 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 648 Atayal

The tribe is a political association of the clans which live in a definite territory and are united by similar customs. Accordingly, it has no economic functions. It is responsible for the legal regulations which are beyond the scope of the individual clan. Furthermore, it is charged with certain military and political functions on behalf of its members.

22: Wiedfeldt--47-48 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 177, 182, 619, 648, 721 Atayal

Every tribe is independent of the other tribes, or is even hostile to them. This attitude was adequate, as long as they did not have any dealings with opponents who were superior to them in strength, as is now the case with the Japanese, and it has naturally given the individual tribe and the chief of the tribe a greater measure of freedom and independence than if a portion of his rights and duties had been transferred to a superior institution. To create social organizations without subjection and on a footing of equal rights seems uncommonly difficult in political life as well as in cooperative labor; even for [48]primitive individuals it seems almost impossible, especially if one considers how much scientific effort and practical work has now been directed at this goal. Even under the pressure of the need to defend themselves against Japanese penetration, the Atayal tribes have not been able to unite. Only individual tribes have been able to unite for minor undertakings, and that not particularly satisfactorily. Nevertheless, some of the chiefs have not spared any effort to bring this about. In the tribes in the interior, the union of the clans in the tribe is so slight, that it is not sufficient to enable them to wage war as a joint effort. In their case, it might even be doubtful whether the social bond between the families by means of their clans in the tribe is so strong that they feel themselves to be members of the same tribe, or whether the tribe is only a union of the clan heads. The tribal feasts which are celebrated in common, the uniform and simple legal procedure of tribal decisions, and the fact that they actually seldom take the liberty to absent themselves from tribal wars, make the first assumption seem more probable,

especially since there is no doubt that this is the situation which prevails among the border tribes.

22: Wiedfeldt--50-51 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 643, 648 Atayal

After an unsuccessful [MC: diplomatic] battle against the Japanese, the chief of the tribe was forced to break off the negotiations, as soon as circumstances arose which had not been foreseen when his powers were conferred upon him, and had to go back and question his tribal assembly anew, to the annoyance of the Japanese. In view of the fact that they are closely bound to observe the decisions of the full assembly, neither the head of the clan nor the chief of the tribe in particular becomes a real leader and authority, for example, in the protection of foreign envoys. They would not be able to develop any initiative if their position were not assured of a certain independence from another source. They are not chosen by election, and hence they are free from any influence from the side of the assembly or the members of the tribe. Both have inherited their positions as representatives from their forebears, chiefly from their fathers, who selected the most suitable successor on the basis of their long experience and their judgment, without any help from the body corporate. Just [51] as they enter upon their office at the death or retirement of their predecessor, without any particular ceremony, so the termination of their careers as representatives depends entirely on their own wishes. The chief of a tribe retires from his somewhat honorary position when he thinks that he can no longer perform important functions. . .